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New York. Union defence com. Washington's birthday celebration. Speeches, resolutions, etc.



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WASHINGTON'S BIRTHDAY.

CELEBRATION AT

# THE COOPER INSTITUTE.

UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE

# UNION DEFENCE COMMITTEE.

SPEECHES, RESOLUTIONS, &c.



N E W - Y O R K :
GEORGE F. NESBITT & CO., PRINTERS,
CORNER OF PEARL AND PINE STS.

1862.



New York,

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### REPORTED BY

A. F. WARBURTON, Stenographer,
117 Nassau-Street.

# PRELIMINARY PROCEEDINGS.

Union Defence Committee
of the Citizens of New-York,
New-York, February 15th, 1862.

At a meeting of the Committee held this day, the Vice-Chairman presiding, the following Preamble and Resolutions were unanimously adopted.

The Union Defence Committee, acting for their fellow-citizens of New-York in the expression of love of country and devotion to its institutions, and regarding it alike a privilege and a duty to follow with their hopes and words of encouragement the progress of the loyal forces, naval and military, now engaged in suppressing rebellion and upholding the flag of the Union; do hereby

#### RESOLVE-

First. That the cheering accounts of the success of our gallant officers, soldiers and seamen in the brilliant operations of the war, call for the cordial congratulations of every loyal citizen, and an expression of grateful thanks to the brave men engaged in this patriotic duty, for the burdens they have borne, the dangers they have encountered, the blood they have shed, the skill and bravery they have shown in every conflict by land or sea; and for the enduring lustre which their deeds of heroism and their forbearance in the hour of victory, have thrown upon the American name and character.

SECOND. That the Navy has manifested its skill, bravery, and patriotism in the following instances, namely:

The capture of the Hatteras Forts.

The conquest of the defences of Port Royal.

The successful bombardment of Fort Henry.

The capture of Roanoke Island.

And that the names of Stringham, Dupont, Foote and Goldsborough, confer distinction on the rolls of the American Navy.

THIRD. That the Army has won enduring renown in the following conflicts, namely:

The battle of Philippi in Virginia.

The battles of Booneville and Brier Forks in Missouri, under Lyon.

The successes of McClellan in Virginia.

The gallant defence of Lexington by Mulligan.

The charge of Zagonyi at Springfield.

The capture of an insurgent force by Pope, in Missouri.

The victory of Dranesville in Virginia.

The total rout of Marshall by Colonel Garfield in Kentucky.

The brilliant successes at Mill Spring in Kentucky, under Thomas.

And the crowning triumph in the storming of the works at Roanoke, and the capture of the rebel army of North Carolina by Burnside.

FOURTH. That the gallant conduct and noble devotion to country, evinced in these and other conflicts, reflect the highest honor on the commanding officers and on the forces engaged.

FIFTH. That the citizens of New-York have reason to feel proud and happy in reflecting on the heroism shown by the soldiers they have assisted to place in the field, and that they will hold in grateful recollection the services of Hawkins and Ferrero; of Betts and Potter; of Kimball and LeGendre; and the gallant Ninth and Fifty-first regiments, led by them in the storming of Roanoke.

SIXTH. That in placing this record on their minutes, the Union Defence Committee desire to share with Indiana and Rhode Island in the glory and honor which attaches to the name of Burnside, illustrated equally in the triumph over difficulties and in the conquest of arms.

SEVENTH. That acknowledgments and congratulations to those who have been spared to witness the triumph of the national arms, must not be unaccompanied by a grateful tribute to the memory of the fallen in battle. The glory of Lyon and Baker and Ellsworth is imperishable. Upon the same page illustrated by these names, will appear those of the gallant Russell and of the chivalrons DeMonteil. Lives given to the country on the field of battle in the cause of liberty, do not pass away; they survive in the hearts of the Nation, and are treasured as the richest possessions of a free people.

EIGHTH. That this Committee recognize in the recent exhibitions of loyal feeling in the South-Western States, and on the Southern Sea-Coast, the strongest evidence which can be given of the declining fortunes of rebellion; and as furnishing, in connection with recent successes of the army and navy, the surest indications of a speedy triumph of the cause of the Constitution and the Union.

NINTH. That copies of these proceeding be transmitted to the President, the Departments of War and the Navy, and published.

[Extract from the Minutes.]

S. DRAPER.

Vice-Chairman.

P. M. WETMORE,

Secretary, pro tem.

# Union Defence Committee of the Citizens of New-York, New-York, February 17th, 1862.

At a special meeting of the Committee, held this day, the Vice-Chairman presiding, the following resolutions were unanimously adopted:

1st. Resolved, That in further acknowledgment of the loyal and gallant conduct of the Union forces, now engaged in suppressing rebellion, this Committee desire to express their admiration of the strategic skill of the commanding generals, the determined ardor and dashing bravery of the officers, soldiers and seamen engaged in the investment, assault and capture of Fort Donelson, on the Cumberland River, in Tennessee.

- 2d. Resolved, That the public heart of the country overflows with gratitude to the heroic men, who have added a new glory to our national annals.
- 3d. Resolved, That the memory of the patriots who have maintained the national honor at the sacrifice of their lives, becomes a sacred trust of a grateful country; and that the wounded and suffering defenders of the Union are entitled to the sympathy of all who appreciate the principles of loyal duty and devoted patriotism.
- 4th. Resolved, With a view to give public expression of the grateful sense entertained by the people in regard to the recent successes of the national arms, this Committee recommend that the citizens of New-York, Brooklyn and vicinity, be invited to assemble in Mass Meeting, on the anniversary of the day made illustrious by the birth of Washington, the 22d of February, inst.
- 5th. Resolved, That a Select Committee be appointed to make the necessary arrangements for the meeting, and to give public notice of the time and place; and that his Honor the Mayor be requested to preside.

## [Extract from the minutes.]

S. DRAPER, Vice-Chairman.

P. M. WETMORE, Secretary pro tem.

The Committee of Arrangements was constituted as follows:

Hamilton Fish, George Opdyke, M. H. Grinnell, John A. Dix, A. C. Richards, Isaac Bell, Charles H. Russell, William M. Evarts, Edwards Pierrepont, Robert H. McCurdy, SIMEON DRAPER, Chairman.
ROBERT T. HAWS,
A. A. LOW,
JAMES WADSWORTH,
R. M. BLATCHFORD,
SAMUEL SLOAN,
JOHN J. ASTOR, Jr.,
CHARLES H. MARSHALL,
ALEXANDER T. STEWART,
R. A. WITTHAUS,

PROSPER M. WETMORE, Secretary.

Note.—Major-General Dix, Brigadier-General Wadsworth, and Colonel Astor were absent, being in the discharge of military duties in the field. Governor Fish was also absent, at Washington, on public duty.

# MASS MEETING.

The mass meeting of the citizens of New-York, Brooklyn, and vicinity, was held at the Cooper Institute, in the city of New-York, on Saturday, February 22d, 1862, at seven o'clock P. M.

The following report of the proceedings is taken from the New-York Daily Times, of the 24th of February:—

The enthusiasm of the day seemed to culminate at the mass meeting, held in Cooper Institute, in the evening, under the auspices of the Union Defence Committee. The platform was decorated with the Stars and Stripes, festooned around oil-paintings of Washington, Jackson, Jefferson and Lincoln. An excellent band enlivened the proceedings. Soon as the doors were opened, the hall became densely crowded. While awaiting the hour named for opening the exercises, Gen. Wetmore announced, that he would encourage the audience with the information that Gen. Scott was in the building. This intelligence was received with a storm of applause, which reached the climax of excitement when the brave veteran made his appearance, leaning on the arm of Ex-Governor Fish.

The audience rose and gave expression to their welcome and delight, by waving of hats and handkerchiefs, and by cheer upon cheer—the band playing "Hail to the Chief." Among the large attendance of leading citizens on the platform, we observed his Honor Mayor Opdyke, Hon. Hamilton Fish, Hon. Henry J. Raymond, Wm. M. Evarts, Simeon Draper, Ex-Judge Pierrcpont, Alexander T. Stewart, Charles H. Marshall, Robert T. Haws, R. A. Witthaus, Benjamin R. Winthrop William G. Lambert, &c.

Ex-Governor Fish called the meeting to order, and said—

Fellow-citizens,—We are assembled, on the invitation of the Union Defence Committee, to commemorate the birthday of Washington, [cheers,] and also to celebrate the recent brilliant achievements of our military and naval forces in support and maintenance of that Government, that Constitution, and that Union, which Washington founded. [Cheers.] I will nominate as President of this meeting, our Mayor, George Opdyke.

This nomination was received with unbounded applause. The Vice-Presidents were then nominated by Hon. Simeon Draper, as follows:—

# OFFICERS OF THE MASS MEETING,

Called by the Union Defence Committee,

FEBRUARY 22d, 1862.

#### PRESIDENT.

HON. GEORGE OPDYKE, Mayor.

### VICE-PRESIDENTS.

PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF ALDER-

PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF COUNCIL-

PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF SUPER-VISORS,

Commissioners of Emigration,

MAYOR OF THE CITY OF BROOKLYN,

WILLIAM B. ASTOR,

Hamilton Fish, Moses Taylor,

SIMEON DRAPER.

EDWARDS PIERREPONT,

WILLIAM M. EVARTS,

ALEX. T. STEWART,

GEORGE BANCROFT.

HIRAM BARNEY,

PELATIAH PERIT,

RICHARD M. BLATCHFORD,

CHARLES H. MARSHALL, CHARLES H. RUSSELL,

Greene C. Bronson.

JOHN D. WOLF,

ROYAL PHELPS,

A. A. Low,

JAMES BOORMAN,

ISAAC BELL,

WILLIAM E. DODGE,

SAMUEL SLOAN,

Moses H. Grinnell,

Jonn J. Cisco,

HENRY C. MURPHY, Brooklyn,

JUSTICES OF THE SUPREME COURT,
JUDGES OF SUPERIOR COURT.

JUDGES OF SUPERIOR COURT,
JUDGES OF THE COURT OF COM'N PLEAS.

JUDGE BETTS. U. S. District Court.

JUSTICE SHIPMAN, U.S. Circuit Court,

ROBERT T. HAWS.

WILLIAM F. HAVEMEYER,

WILLIAM T. COLEMAN,

J. CARSON BREVOORT, Brooklyn.

R. H. McCurdy,

James T. Brady,

HENRY E. PIERREPONT, Brooklyn,

FREDERICK BRONSON,

George S. Robbins,

George S. Coe,

C. R. ROBERT, WM. WHITLOCK, Jr.,

WM. G LAMBERT,

ELI WHITE,

JOSEPH LAWRENCE,

DENNING DUER,

Cyrus P. Smith,

Walden Pell,

BENJAMIN R. WINTHROP,

JAMES GALLATIN,

GEORGE T. ELLIOTT, DAVID DUDLEY FIELD,

DAVID DUDLEY FIELD,

SAMUEL B. RUGGLES,

Daniel Devlin, A. P. Halsey.

VALENTINE MOTT, M. D.,

JOHN LOYD,

R. A. WITTHAUS, John C. Green, JOSEPH WALKER, O. D. F. GRANT, HUGO WESENDONCK, MARSHALL O. ROBERTS, John A. King, THEODORE POLIEMUS, Brooklyn, A. E. SILLIMAN, JAMES M. WHITE, WILLIAM CURTIS NOYES, ABRAM WAKEMAN, W. H. VAN BEUREN, M. D., GEORGE F. THOMAE, Brooklyn, GEORGE B. DE FORREST, Rufus F. Andrews, J. N. A. GRISWOLD. MARSHALL LEFFERTS, JOHN A. STEVENS. DANIEL EMBURY, Brooklyn, BENJ. F. MANIERRE, WM. B. CROSBY, AARON VANDERPOEL, DANIEL LORD, Francis B. Cutting, Peter Cooper, W. W. DE FOREST, LUTHER BRADISH, Morris Ketchum, E. Delafield Smith, ROBERT B. MINTURN, WILLIAM BARTON, J. K. Pell, SHEPHERD KNAPP, F. S. Winston. WILLIAM A. BOOTH, STEWART BROWN, GEORGE GRISWOLD, Jr., EDWARDS W. FISK, Brooklyn, JAMES W. MAITLAND, CHARLES R. LYNDE, Rufus L. Lord, C. H. SAND, JOSEPH SAMPSON, JOHN BRIDGE, RICHARD BERRY, J. J. WOOLSEY.

J. Q. Jones, SETH B. HUNT. HENRY MAXWELL, WILLIAM C. WETMORE, GEORGE TIEMAN, Joseph Hoxie, S. B. CHITTENDEN, W. H. ASPINWALL, EDWARD VONDERHEYDT. JACOB A. WESTERVELT, ROBERT C. GOODHUE. ELIE CHARLIER, JAMES BENKARD, JAMES BARNES, GEORGE DENNISON, WILLIAM B. TAYLOR, SAMUEL WETMORE, HENRY C. DE RHAM, ARTHUR BENSON, Brooklyn, SAMUEL T. SKIDMORE, ROBERT MURRAY, GEORGE R. JACKSON, JOHN CASWELL, ROBERT BAYARD, ABRAHAM B. BAYLIS, Brooklyn, J. H. PINKNEY, John Steward. EGBERT BENSON, C. V. S. ROOSEVELT, EDWIN CROSWELL, PETER LORILLARD, W. S. HERRIMAN, Brooklyn, ISAAC HENDERSON, WILLARD PARKER, M. D., WILLIAM C. GILMAN, WILLIAM A. KOBBE. Francis Lieber ADRIAN ISELIN. JONATHAN STURGES, L. H. FROTHINGHAM, Brooklyn, T. H. FAILE. LORILLARD SPENCER, WILLIAM WATSON, J. F. D. LANIER, JOSEPH BATTELL, C. Godfrey Gunther, W. A. HAINES,

LEOPOLD BIERWITH, JOSEPH W. ALSOP, JAMES ANDERSON, M. D., JACOB WINDMULLER, HIRAM WALBRIDGE, BENJAMIN D. SILLIMAN, Brooklyn, EDWIN J. BROWN. JOHN WADSWORTH, SIMEON BALDWIN. JAMES PUNNETT, T. B. SATTERTHWAITE, JOHN RAYMOND, GUSTAVUS H. WITTHAUS, CHARLES GOULD. W. H. HAYS. Frederick A. Coe, Yonkers. ROBERT L. STUART, W. H. Johnson, RICHARD SCHELL, DAVID HOADLEY, ROBERT S. HONE, W. V. BRADY, DANIEL F. TIEMANN, H. W. T. MALI, GEORGE W. BLUNT, ROBERT L. MAITLAND, MERRITT TRIMBLE, GUSTAV SCHWAB, EDWARD LEARNED. ELLIOT C. COWDIN, D. HENRY HAIGHT, HENRY A. SMYTHE. SAMUEL D. BABCOCK, OLIVER S. STRONG. CHARLES A. MACY, OSWALD OTTENDORFFER, A. C. KINGSLAND, A. C. RICHARDS, GULIAN C. VERPLANCK, AUGUSTUS SCHELL, JAMES LENOX, W. ALLEN BUTLER, DAVID S. CODDINGTON, ELEAZAR PARMLY, GEORGE B. BUTLER, T. B. STILLMAN, E. E. MORGAN.

ABRAHAM S. HEWITT, EUGENE S. BALLIN, WILLET SEAMAN, CHARLES W. SANDFORD. JOHN H. SWIFT, ERASTUS C. BENEDICT, James B. Nicholson, NATHANIEL HAYDEN, JEREMIAH BURNS, Yonkers, GEORGE H. MOORE. S. S. Wyckoff, E. V. HAUGHWOUT, R. H. GREEN. JOHN E. WILLIAMS, MORRIS FRANKLIN, D. C. KINGSLAND, WILLIAM H. WEBB, CYRUS W. FIELD, GEORGE FOLSOM, FREDERIC DE PEYSTER, EDWARD COOPER, John J. Phelps. HENRY CHAUNCEY. CLARENCE A. SEWARD, SAMUEL P. WILLIAMS, HENRY K. BOGERT, GEORGE P. PUTNAM, ABRAHAM M. COZZENS, ALFRED COLVILL, NATHANIEL McCREADY, J. D. P. OGDEN. WALTER S. GRIFFITH, A. GRACIE KING, CHARLES W. ELLIOTT, ARTHUR LEARY. FREDERICK KAPP, HENRY A. HURLBUT. GEORGE BLISS, Jr., THEODORE L. MASON, M. D., Brooklyn, LUTHER C. CLARK. N. B. PALMER. JOHN D. JONES. GEORGE F. NESBITT, ROBERT L. KENNEDY, JAMES J. ROOSEVELT, BENJAMIN H. HUTTON, HIRAM KETCHUM.

#### SECRETARIES.

J. SMITH HOMANS,
SHEPPARD GANDY,
JOHN J. WHITE,
SAMUEL BLATCHFORD,
J. HOWARD WILLIAMS,
A. GUERBER, Brooklyn,
ANDREW WARNER,
DAVID ADEE,
EDWARD A. WETMORE,
CHARLES STEINWAY,
W. H. L. BARNES,
WM. L. ELLSWORTH,
JOHN K. MEYERS,
WILLIAM AUFERMANN,

EDWARD C. BOGERT,
JOHN H. DRAPER,
ROBERT B. MINTURN, Jr.,
FRANK MOORE,
A. M. PALMER,
WILLIAM BOND,
FRANK W. BALLARD,
HAMLIN BLAKE,
RICHARD A. MCCURDY,
NATHANIEL COLES,
JOHN H. ALMY,
HENRY H. ELLIOTT, Jr.,
GEORGE E. STRONG,
G. W. BENSON, Brooklyn,

### COPY OF INVITATION TO GUESTS.

Union Defence Committee of the Citizens of New-York, New-York, February 18th, 1862.

SIR:

This Committee have invited a Mass Meeting of the citizens to assemble at two o'clock, P. M., on Saturday, the 22d of February instant, to commemorate the Birth of Washington, and in honor of the recent brilliant successes of the Union forces engaged in suppressing rebellion.

The undersigned have been instructed to request the honor of your presence on the occasion.

With sentiments of high respect,

Your obedient servants,

HAMILTON FISH, Chairman. SIMEON DRAPER, Vice-Chairman.

WILLIAM M. EVARTS, Secretary.

Attest, P. M. WETMORE,
Secretary Committee of Arrangements.

## Mayor Opdyke said:

Ladies and Gentlemen,—It has been my pleasing duty, in my official capacity, to-day, to join in another great meeting, celebrating this Anniversary of the Birthday of the Father of his Country, and in celebrating, also, the glorious victories which our military and naval forces have recently achieved. On that occasion, I ventured to utter a few sentiments, which are uppermost in my mind at present, but I will not detain you with a repetition of them. We are here at the invitation of the Union Defence Committee—a semi-official body of exalted citizens, who have reason to feel proud of the part they have taken in meeting this infamous rebellion, (cheers,) and they have a right to ask us to rejoice with them at the prospect of its speedy overthrow. I will now introduce to you Judge Pierrepont, who will read the Farewell Address of Washington.

The Farewell Address was heard with reverend attention throughout, interrupted only by applause at those passages which inculcated, particularly, obedience to the established government, and jealousy of foreign interference.

## JUDGE PIERREPONT'S SPEECH.

At the conclusion of the Address, Judge Pierrepont continued:

How like a prophet's words come back these voices from the dead! It is well that Washington did not live to see this day, when his children are madly striving to pull down the sacred Temple of Liberty which he reared. [Applause.] We meet to commemorate the birth of that great man. We also meet to celebrate our recent brilliant victories. But some sorrow mingles with our joy, that these victories are not victories over a foreign foe, but over our own misguided rebel countrymen. We may, nevertheless, rejoice that these are victories over the foes of human liberty, and over foes to the progress of the human race. "Tis true that when Washington lived, he held some fellow-men in bondage, but it should ever be remembered, that before he died, he so provided that in the hour when his great spirit returned to God, who

gave it, the chains fell from his slaves like the chains of St. Peter, at the angel's touch. [Cheers.] But, fellow-citizens, this is not a simple war about negro slavery. It is a battle between two great contending principles, which have ever disturbed the world. It is now a great death-struggle between Tyranny and Freedom, between Despotism and Liberty. [Applause.] Hence the foreign sympathy with our foes; hence the hate of the jealous, selfish, perfidious tyrants of England; hence the coldness of Imperial France, and of despotic Spain; hence the hostility of every foreign crown—save only the noble, far-seeing, progressive, friendly Czar—God bless him, forever! [Enthusiastic cheers.] But, fellow-citizens, this great war of contending principles is not over yet.

You that have burned for opportunity, in this great conflict, to earn a patriot's crown, will not cease—

"Nor think the victory won,
Nor once at ease sit down;
Thy arduous work will not be done
Till thou hast got thy crown."

To end this great conflict, to put down this terrible rebellion, so that it shall never raise its gory head again, will not be done without a desperate struggle. We mean to end it now. [Cheers.] We have left our peaceful employments; we have given up, for the time, our love of luxury and our love of gold, and we have returned to the first love of our fathers—the love of Liberty. [Applause.] We are in this war—we did not seek it—and, God willing, we will not leave it till rebels shall whisper to their children that rebellion against the long-suffering, forbearing, indulgent Government of the generous, brave, and loyal people of these United States is a dangerous and a fearful thing. And, trusting in the Lord, we will so fight this battle that, through the fire and the blood of sacrifice, our whole country shall be purified, and redeem the hope and glory of the world. [Cheers.] To inspire our minds with steadier and more determined zeal, and our hearts with loftier and holier patriotism, would that I could call up, palpable to your sight, the serious, benignant, warning shade of the immortal Washington. But as that cannot be, a living patriot of undying fame I present-Lieut. Gen. Scott.

[Again was the hero of Mexico made to feel what a warm place he retains in the hearts of his countrymen. The whole audience rose and greeted him with cheer upon cheer.]

### ADDRESS OF WM. M. EVARTS.

Mr. Evarts was introduced, and received with warm applause. He said:

Mr. President,—On behalf of the Committee instructed to prepare and present resolutions on this occasion, I have the honor to read the following

#### RESOLUTIONS.

Resolved, That the citizens of New-York and its vicinity, in mass meeting assembled, record anew their reverential gratitude to the Giver of all good, for the great inheritance of Liberty, Independence and Union, which we have received from the courage, the wisdom and the virtue of heroic ancestors, and celebrate with ever-growing joy and pride the day which, in giving birth to Washington, gave promise of the immeasurable benefits to his own and all future generations which his great life and character were to achieve [Cheers.]

Resolved, That the constituted liberties of this nation rest upon the princiciples which the life of Washington was spent in establishing, and which his farewell words of warning and instruction have impressed upon the hearts of his countrymen; that the momentous experience through which the nation is now passing, displays in characters of living light the imperishable truth, that to us and our posterity the Union is the sure protector of liberty and peace among ourselves, of power and peace with other nations. [Applause.]

Resolved, That we meet on this recurrence of the birthday of Washington, with hearts full of profound gratulation that the lessons of his life and character have not been lost upon his countrymen of this generation; with hearts full of the purpose and the hope that these lessons shall be transmitted to our posterity, enforced and illuminated by new examples of the same heroic patriotism, the same civil prudence, and the same prosperous fortune which marked his great career. [Applause.]

RESOLVED, That the war of the Constitution against civil treason and military rebellion, which now engages all the loyal strength and resources of the nation, is but to uphold, confirm and perpetuate what the war of the Revolution wrought out and established; and the soldiers and statesmen who bear well their part in the toils and sacrifices of the conflict of this day, are treading in the footsteps of heroic ancestors, and shall share their great renown. [Enthusiastic cheers.]

Resolved, That we will submit to no division of the illustrious fame of Washington, nor shall its radiance be shut in to narrower boundaries than our whole country; and we pledge anew our lives and our fortunes to the destruction, root and branch, of that conspiracy which has added to its crime against the nation's life, the sacrilege of desecrating the birthday of Washington by the inauguration of its pretended government. [Loud applause.]

RESOLVED, That we offer the heartiest tribute of our admiration and our gratitude to the courage, fortitude and constancy of our soldiers, to the bravery and conduct of our officers in the field, and to the genius and skill of the commanders who have planned the vigorous and efficient movements of our forces; and in the valor and skill of the officers and seamen of our nayy, on the Ocean, the Gulf and the Rivers, we feel an equal pride. [Prolonged cheering.]

RESOLVED, That the brilliant and important successes of our arms, by land and by water, on the sea-board and in the West, which make glad the hearts of the people, have touched the vital strength of the rebellion, and should be followed up, without delay, or truce or armistice, until the last rebel shall lay down his arms. [Loud applause.]

RESOLVED, That we assure the Government that the hearts of the people are prepared for every burden and every sacrifice that a bold, a rapid and an earnest conduct of this war to a successful close may require, and that appreciating and applanding every act of vigor and decision in the Cabinet and in the field, we promise a firm, a faithful, an enduring support to every measure for the re-establishment of the Constitution over all our land. [Cheers.]

Mr. President, (continued Mr. Evarts,) ladies and gentlemen, before submitting for your adoption the resolutions which have been read, I have been desired, by the Committee of Arrangements, to say a few words on the general subjects that attract the attention of all of us, and in respect of which you needs must anticipate almost all it is possible for me to say. We have noticed that, as the country was approaching, somewhat unconsciously, the terrible ordeal to which it is now subjected, the minds of men have turned with new affection and enthusiasm to the name and the memory of Washington; and this, his birthday, has come to be, as it is, the only holiday that the nation keeps, except the birthday of the nation itself—the Fourth of July. [Cheers.] What a tribute to the greatness of the simple character of Washington, when a nation, at the basis of whose social and political structure almost, it lies that they should not be worshipers of men, nor worshipers of

heroes, has yet found so great a public importance in the birthday of Washington, that, unanimously, wherever loyalty prevails, this holiday is kept with festive pomp! All the local events of the Revolution, all the birthdays of the celebrated men of the Revolution, or of later times, however much they have received of casual observance and local homage, have entirely failed to place themselves in the hearts of the people, beside the 4th of July and the 22d of February. The President of the United States, by a proclamation, according with the impulses of the people, has enjoined upon good citizens all over this land, to meet, and with proper observances commemorate this great occasion. In obedience to that call—in obedience to our duty and our feelings alike—on the invitation of a patriotic Committee, this great assemblage has here met. But I must say, that aside from all these reasons I have mentioned, there sprung up a resentful feeling in the hearts of this people, the moment their attention was drawn to the fact that the rebel Government had dared to adopt the day of Washing-TON for the day of their inauguration—a feeling of solemn and deep resentment, and an earnest and unanimous purpose, that the joy, and the shouts, and the homage, of the loyal people of the United States should drown the feeble voices of rebels. [Loud cheers.

The theme of Washington, his life, and his character, is one that is suitable for the most thorough and severe contemplation, and you will find, from every scrutiny, but renewed reasons to thank God for such a man, not only to form this nation, and mould and control the minds of his own generation, but to be still alive in the examples of the great men who have followed him, and who will ever be glad to repeat, that to the contemplation of his life, his character, his conduct in war, his conduct in peace, his comprehensive patriotism, and his thorough disinterestedness, they owe much of the support and aid to their own arduous and patriotic sacrifices for their country, that even the longest and most illustrious life may have given them an opportunity to yield. [Applause.] Who can tell how great and important a benefit it is to a people, that their hero, besides having had the courage and the energy to carry them through their early struggles and establish

them as a nation, had also that dignity of private life, that purity of private character, that unselfishness, and that absolute and comprehensive patriotism, that made it sure to the liberties and happiness of this people, that whoever followed the example of Washington, must be the benefactor of America? [Loud cheers.]

But, Washington connected himself with the life of this nation in all the great points of its origin which served to determine the shape and character of its political institutions. Beginning, as we all know our revolutionary progress did, in the determination that we would enjoy the rights and liberties of Englishmen, and not be ruled by foreign legislation, under any formal pretence of a constitutional authority of Parliament, we find Washington's activity dating with the first, running with the most earnest, continuing to the last; and when he, and the other leading minds of our country, found that we could not have liberty as Englishmen, but must have independence as Americans, he, first and foremost, carried through the toils of war, and planted successfully, the established nationality of the country, upon a basis laid by the Declaration of Independence. [Cheers.] When, again, it was found that liberty was not secured by independence, nor independence secured by liberty, but Union in one Government was the necessary protection of them both—who is it, that by his counsels leads his countrymen, and who is it that presides over the great Convention that framed the Federal Constitution? Again, again it is Washing-TON! [Renewed applause.] And when, the paper government formed, the labor then began of adjusting this new and complex system of a General Government, and independent States Government, within the province of power submitted to their administration—who is it that reconciles all discords by his firm hand? Who is it that marshals under him the great intellects of the nation and restrains their power, and, thus, fitting the working of the scheme to the passions, and prejudices, and habits of the people, by eight years of early administration, makes it easy to govern the people by men who have honest hearts and truly honest purposes? Washington, again! So that, when we celebrate the birthday of Washington, we celebrate the goodness of Providence, that prepared in good season a man, without whom liberty

and its spirit would have taken no such solid form as to gain independence; independence would not have been of sufficient strength to maintain itself till brought under the protection of Union, and Union would have been dissolved under the first storms that attacked it, but for his pilotage through eight years of responsible and difficult administration. [Enthusiastic cheers.] It is not personal homage, then, that we offer to-day, but it is gratitude for the gift of God of the human being that was necessary to establish the Nation, provide it a Government, and set that Government working for its benefit.

Mr. President and gentlemen, be sure we have not talked of the wisdom of our ancestors in forming this Government, without some intelligence of what its principle was. Governments have existed before. Free people in spirit, and free people in fact, have existed before. But never before has there been a contrivance whereby a great and powerful nationality could, consistently with the freedom of the people, maintain its strength, secure against anarchy within, and against the operation of jealous hatred from abroad; never before has a contrivance been framed whereby-by the grant of power, as to what was national and what had relation to foreign affairs, to a General Government, and dividing the local administration among State Governments—we could have a nation strong enough to maintain peace at home, and secure respect abroad, and yet not endowed with so great a fund of power as to subvert the liberties of the people who contributed to its establishment. [Applause.]

And this it was, gentlemen, that made us understand, after a while, what this rebellion was, and how it touched our interests, our safety, our Government, and our nation. Why, the cry was, on the part of the rebel States, "Let us alone! we only want to change our Government. Why will you interfere with us? We do not intend to interfere with you." They said that this principle that the people could do as they pleased about making a government, applied to them, or to any part of a people or a nation, and all they wanted was to be let alone! We, for a while bewildered and uncertain, under the uncertain sound that came from the watchmen, (making it clear that no one could prepare for

the battle under such warning,) thought there was something in this. But, at last, we found that it was the central principle of the Government that they were undermining-that would make it impossible, in the future, that we could ever hope that this plan of divided administration of Government could be consistent with National life. [Applause.] Why, gentlemen, their course and their conduct—we being all involved in one Nation, one destiny, one Government—has been found as well illustrated by the figure of a ship and its crew on the stormy ocean as by any other. They talked pretty much in this way, as if the mutineers of a crew, in a storm at sea, when the master and the loyal ship's company were bearing down on them to subdue their mutiny, should say, "Why do you interfere with us? All we want is to be let alone." But, our reply is, "This is our ship, and you are interfering with it." "Oh! no," they say, "we do not mean to interfere with the ship; we propose to make a just and equitable division of it; we mean to saw it in two, just behind the mainmast." But, we answered, "Why, you poor, deluded mariners, if you have but half a ship left, you will surely go to the bottom." Again, they reply: "That is our affair—let us alone." But at last it gets through our shrewd heads, that we will have but half a ship left, and that we, too, will go to the bottom. [Cheers and laughter.] "Oh," they say, "what is that to us? That is your business!" Well, we conclude that the whole ship of State, with all its strength and all its thunders and its bright flag still at the mast head, is the ship for us, and if any of the mutineers want a yawl boat to go off in, let them take it, but not saw our vessel in two. [Renewed cheers and laughter.]

When we got to fighting for our own Government, our own interests, and our own safety, we fought to some purpose. [Applause.] What was it that waked up the people? See the designs of Providence! When the rebellion languished—when it was feared that returning reason might assert its sway over the Southern people—its infatuated leaders determined they must make a breach of open war, to rouse the hearts of the rebellious population, and the gun to which the torch was applied for this purpose, aimed at Sunter, awoke—I will not say the sleeping

North—but awoke the sleeping thunders of the Constitution. [Prolonged cheers.] For that gun, aimed, to the natural eye, at the feeble garrison, was really aimed at the central principle of the Constitution and the Union. [Applause.] They found that they had waked up a garrison of twenty millions of men to defend the Constitution at which their feeble guns were aimed. And, now, this garrison, alert, aroused, fully armed, holds its own ground, and soon, in the President's phrase, is going "to repossess" all the rest of the country. [Enthusiastic cheers.]

Now, this adjustment between State and Federal Government has always been prophesied as to prove the fatal weakness of our Constitution, and of our nation. Well, gentlemen, the moralist will tell you that no virtue can be pronounced very reliable until it has resisted temptation. The physician will tell you that no health, however apparently robust and vigorous, can be much counted upon, till it has shown its power in the resistance of disease. This is the trial of our Constitution. Men have said, why, when discontents occupy the hearts of large portions of the people, the State governments are already organized rebellion, and the Federal Government can make no head against them. And so the first experiences of this rebellion seemed to teach. But, at length, we found that there was in the Constitution, and in this particular form of our Government, as wonderful resources for resistance, as there were mighty and tempting opportunities for rebellion; and that, when the great States, unanimous and strong, came out against the rebellion, there was organized loyalty, as well as organized rebellion. [Loud cheers.] I need not ask you to look at the fate of revolutions in what are called homogeneous nations, and under simple governments. I need not ask you to remember how often a revolution that carries the streets of Paris, carries the nation of France. I need not ask you how difficult, how dangerous, is the situation of that nation where rebellion, seizing the centre of government and infecting the sources of power, places the great mass of the people at disadvantage, they having no magistrates, no combination, no organization; but I ask you to look at the spectacle of this nation, and tell me whether, hereafter, any man, any statesman, any schemer, any traitor, will think that by carrying Charleston and Montgomery, and New Orleans, and Nashville and Richmond, he has carried the United States? [Applause.] A coup d'état, for this country, must be a coup d'état which is started by the people, and rests upon some universal and honest principle of human nature, uprising against oppression, and never can be carried upon the schemes of personal ambition, or of an interested class, or of a special property organization, however vast it may be. [Renewed cheers.]

But another view of the great strength of our Government is shown, to the apprehension of even the most careless observer, and that is, how a Government said to be weak, and certainly wanting many of the powers and faculties of operation that strong Governments possess,—how that Government needs not to exercise a single authority, but merely to beckon with the finger, to give permission, to organize for the defence of the law and the Constitution. [Cheers.] And it is absurd to instruct the nation that our written Constitution does not permit the exercise of all the energies of the nation, at the right time, at the right place, and in the right form, to resist force by force. It is always constitutional, gentlemen, to uphold the life of the Constitution, and to measure the energies and the means by the energies and the means that are brought against that life. [Loud applause.] It is always constitutional, in the human frame, when fever or disease invades it, to meet the enemy by the most vigorous poisons, that would be extremely unconstitutional in time of health. [Laughter . and applause.]

The brief experience, gentlemen, we have had of this rebellion, has taught us how great was the wisdom of Washington. When, before, did this nation ever stand doubtful and expectant as to the course that foreign nations would take toward us, except when this accursed rebellion had weakened and endangered the Union? When did foreign nations, since we became one of the family, undertake to have a violent and insolent policy toward us, except when this accursed rebellion had weakened and divided the strength of this nation? [Cheers.] And, just so sure as the rebellion should succeed, just so sure would what Washington denounces as "an apostate and unnatural connection with foreign

powers," have been the only hope, the only honor, the only protection, of the successful rebels; and just so sure should we, left, as I have said, with but half a ship upon the stormy sea, have been plundered by all the pirates that could get at us. Let us know, then, that on this triple arch of liberty, independence and union, does this Nation, in its constituted liberties, stand; and that triple arch has been so underwrought by the master-builders, who framed the structure of our Government, that no stone can be taken out of one without toppling all, and involving in ruin the entire structure. [Prolonged applause.]

Well, gentlemen, a war cannot be carried on without both taxing and fighting. [Cheers.] It seemed for some time as if those who directed our affairs had not learned that you never can have a victory without fighting; and having learned that lesson, they have jumped very quickly to the next onethat you never can fight without having a victory, for that is our experience. [Loud applause.] And yet, for fear we should not have a victory, we stood in danger of never fighting. [Laughter.] But taxation, gentlemen, is the basis on which the resources of the people are to be marshaled, to strengthen the sinews of the Government in war, just as much as by drawing, under military combination, the physical force of the people together, battles are to be fought and the war prosecuted. Loans are nothing but the discount of taxation, and if you have no taxation to discount you cannot get any loans. You cannot go on the plan of thinking you do not want your money on this tax or on that tax, and that no tax at all would be better. You cannot get along on the plan of the Vermont financier I have heard of, who said that all this bother about financial measures seemed sheer nonsense; that he did not like direct taxation, or indirect taxation—that he did not like excise duties or tariffs—but his plan was, that all the expenses of the Government should be paid out of the Treasury. [Laughter and cheers.] Well, gentlemen, that may do for a little while, and that is the plan we are going on now-paying the expenses of the Government out of the Treasury. [Renewed laughter.]

I have occupied much more of your attention than I had

designed to. [Cries of "Go on."] We see a strange spectacle now in this country; and if the shade of Washington could be supposed to bend an interested eve upon the great transactions in the midst of the people whom he so much loved, toward the formation of whose Government and protection of whose liberties he did so much, where, think you, would he bend his approving smile, and where cast his awful frown? Would the city of Washington and the Government there—the city of the Union and the Government of the Union-or the city of Richmond, in his own loved State of Virginia, and the Government there, receive his approval? Which would be adhere to? I cannot tell you any more clearly than you know yourselves. But the living presence that can most nearly present to us the situation and the choice of Washington, is the course of the great man, eminent in war, eminent in peace, who, having the loved State of Virginia for his birthplace, and the loved Union for his country, chose the Government of Washington and the fabric of our constituted liberties, and not the Government of Richmond and the State rights of Virginia. [This allusion to Gen. Scott evoked the greatest enthusiasm, and cheer after cheer was given for the honored veteran.]

To which of the two Presidents would Washington commend the book, to receive the vows, on the 4th of March, to President Lincoln, at Washington, or, on this day, to Mr. Davis, at Riehmond? And if he were now to distribute the swords which he bequeathed in his will—with the injunction that they never should be unsheathed to shed blood, except in self-defence or in defence of the country or its rights, and in the latter case, that they never should be sheathed, but that it should be preferable to die with them drawn than relinquish the rights of the country—were he to distribute the swords now, would he give them to Halleek? or to Beauregard?

This is the example, this the duty that we learn from Wash-Ington; and aside from our duty, let us see how our most sacred sentiments are involved in this. Why, gentlemen, since this rebellion broke out, I have had it ever before me, that so long as it prevailed, the great names and the great fames of the Revolution

grew sensibly paler. How shall we maintain against the sneers of foreign nations-how against the chidings of the jealous and envious mother country—the principles of our Revolution, if we are to be told, like froward children who have quarreled with a gracious mother, you have fallen into the contempt which your necessary quarrels among yourselves have bred? Let all of us, who have any personal connection with the names of the men who, in the battle-field or in the council-chamber, aided in the glories of the Revolution—let us see to it that we protect, to the remotest generation, their famous names from the reproaches that would be brought against them by the cowardice or the pusillanimity of their posterity, if we did not re-establish, over every inch of our territory, in all its pristine strength, the Government which they bequeathed to us, and plant our flag-"Liberty and Union forever!"—wherever they, or their descendants, have reared it. [Loud and prolonged applause.]

His Honor the Mayor having retired, Governor Fish took the Chair.

### TELEGRAPH FROM HON. JOSEPH HOLT.

The CHAIRMAN—Before presenting to you the name of another speaker, I am requested to read a telegram received to-day from one who is with you in spirit, although he cannot be in person—Hon. Joseph Holt. [Three cheers were given for Holt.]

St. Louis, February 19th, 1862.

Gen. P. M. Wetmore, Secretary:

In fervent gratitude to God and to our brave army, and in transports of rejoicing, I will be with the citizens of New-York in the celebration on Saturday.

0. 11011.

When the above had been read and cheered, Mr. RAYMOND was called for, and spoke as follows:

### SPEECH OF HON. HENRY J. RAYMOND.

Mr. President and Fellow-Citizens,—I feel oppressed by this occasion, and still more oppressed by my entire incompetency to utter even the few words which you have a right to expect from any

one who has the temerity, at such a time, to present himself to such an audience. I cannot hope to say one word concerning the great questions which agitate all hearts and fill all minds, that will not long ago have occurred to every one of my hearers; and I shall not attempt it. I can only pour forth in feeble words such expressions as may come into my mind, of congratulation and rejoicing at the aspect of affairs at this moment, and touch feebly those echoes which lie in every heart, in the presence of such events as are now upon us.

We have met here to eelebrate the birthday of the Father of his Country, not in silence, not with oppressed and regretful hearts, not looking back into the past as the only era of heroism and hope, but we come to raise our voices of joy and congratulation that we live in such a day, that we see the events that are passing before us, and that our hearts may be filled and animated by hopes and prospects such as Washington, and those who stood by his side in the Revolution, could never anticipate. sacred memory in times of past prosperity, has been before us as the pillar of cloud, leading us on in solemn awe; it now marches before our bands like a pillar of fire, animating us in the great work now so nearly accomplished. I do not know why it isperhaps it is because I am less impressible than most men, or perhaps it is that I am more sanguine—but I have never been able to take so sombre and gloomy a view of the present condition of this country as has filled the mind of others. It has seemed to me that we were entering upon that stage of national existence which always occurs in every nation's history. Each must have enemies to encounter, both within and without. What are our struggles compared with those of other nations in other ages, of nations infinitely less fitted to earry those struggles to a successful issue? We have duties to perform, burdens to bear, blows to strike; but, thank God, we are a people able to bear every burden and to strike every blow. [Applause.] And what have we not to eongratulate ourselves upon at this moment? We have the lingering voice of that great man, the Father of his country, whose words have eehoed in your ears to-night, guiding us under all circumstances of peace and war. We have here the fit successor of the

Father of his country, his peer in patriotism, [great applause,] unsurpassed and unsurpassable by Washington or any other name that ever graced the annals of any age, in everything that makes the patriot and the friend of his country; and if not equally fortunate in that great renown which will forever surround and hallow the sacred name of Washington, it is only because God in his mercy gives to a nation but one father, one name to worship. [Renewed applause.]

We have, too, a people worthy of the father whom they so love and revere; and this war already, before the first year of its existence is closed, has proved to us and to all the nations of the earth, what all the nations of the earth had denied, what we had ourselves, some of us, begun to doubt, that we have men able to fight for the liberties bequeathed to them, ready to fight not only against foes who may come from abroad, but against all foes, be they their own brethren even, to the death, if need be, to rescue the Constitution and the Union. We have a past; and thank God for the glorious names that emblazon it. We have a present full of honor and renown. And we shall have a future which will outshine both in the lustre and endurance of its glory and its honor. Ah, our soldiers—we who have no soldiers—our soldiers, the soldiers of the Republic, that has been forced to hear, and perfectly willing to bear, the scorn of every decaying monarchy of Europe because we had no standing army—our soldiers, the soldiers of the Republic, millions of them, are ready to face the world in arms, if the world chooses to come in arms to crush our liberty. [Great applause.]

Beyond all question, war is an evil. No one regards it as a good. But it is not an unmixed evil. Nothing can be an unmixed evil which gives us such glorious examples of courage and constancy as the last three weeks have witnessed upon this soil, at the hands of citizens of the Republic. The capture of Fort Donelson, [applause,] that single incident of this war, not only in the immediate results which are to follow it, but in the great lesson it has taught, in the great hopes it has lighted, of our ability to meet the rebels at home and foes abroad—the single capture of that one fort is worth every dollar and every life this war will cost.

[Applause.] But I should weary you and exhaust the time—["Go on," "go on."] I have no intention of stopping just yet. [Laughter.] I was only about to say I would not attempt to enumerate all the causes of congratulation that cluster around us to-day.

We have seen a conspiracy rise in our midst, not upon sudden impulse, not from the torture of some crushing wrong, suddenly felt and suddenly realized, but a conspiracy carefully matured by the leading spirits of one section of our country, for twenty-five or thirty years of our existence; maturing itself by all the aids and appliances which skillful men know so well how to use, bringing into its whirlpool all the prejudices and all the passions of a proud and sensitive race. We have seen it selecting its own time, laying its own plans, seizing the most favorable moment for their execution, bursting out in a sudden war against a nation that never dreamed of war, a nation that had been warned often, and refused, in the magnanimity of its heart, ever to believe that its own sons could lift a parricidal hand against its existence. We have seen that conspiracy going into the field, ready armed, confident, strong in preparation and purpose; and after a few months of struggle and strife, where do we see it now? ["In the dust."] Ay, in the dust, to be trodden in the dust by all honest men hereafter. You know that the great Irish orator, Curran, said, half in boast and half in lament, that he had rocked the cradle of Irish liberty, and had followed its coffin to the grave. The shortest lived rebel in the Southern States may say the same thing of the Southern rebellion. The same infant hand that rocked its cradle will look with contempt upon its grave; for to-day its cradle stands by the brink of its grave. The solemnities at Richmond, by which this day has been desecrated, are funeral solemnities, and not solemnities that can lift the heart, or for a moment bear the name of rejoicing. If it had been possible and quite safe, I should have been very glad to have looked upon that inaugural celebration to-day. [Laughter.] I did not think it wise to go as a spectator, and, therefore, as we must deny ourselves many things in this life, I denied myself the great pleasure it would have given me to have looked upon the face of Jeff. Davis when he "the likeness of a

kingly crown put on." [Laughter.] I think it must have much resembled that of his great prototype, described by Milton, who sat at the gates of Hell, and whose name was Death; because, if ever men assembled to inaugurate what they called a Government, under circumstances of dismal, hopeless solemnity, it was the gang of conspirators who are descerating the name of Government under the pretence of celebrating the birthday of Washington, in the city of Richmond, to-day. If they can believe for a moment that that Government can have an existence ninety days from date, they are much more sanguine of success even than our Secretary of State, Mr. Seward, who, I believe, through all this, has kept up heart and hope, and predicted a speedy end to the rebellion.

Ninety days from this time, there will be nothing like a rebel Government in the Southern States, that can rally to its support any considerable number even of the Southern people. If they can maintain themselves for that time, I think I may quote the highest military authority of this land, for the opinion that it will be the only instance in history where, under circumstances so adverse, that feat has been accomplished. Surrounded on every side, the heart of their resources broken, their own steps destroying them, what have they to fall back upon, except the Gulf, which will envelop them even sooner than if they stay where they are.

We may congratulate ourselves, moreover, upon the sentiment in the Southern Confederacy, as it is called, which the progress of this war develops. The most beautiful, the most encouraging scene of all, to my mind, is revealed in the news that reaches us from day to day, that at this point and that, in the Southern States, to which our army has penetrated, and which it has been able to relieve from the incubus of tyranny that weighed upon it, crowds of the people flocked to the shores and saluted our flag as their flag, and promised to be true to the Union. You may have seen in the papers this morning—in one of them, at least—in the account of the advance of the army to Fort Donelson, a little incident, in which an old man indicated his feelings upon the subject. As the fleet was passing up the Cumberland River, an old man was seen, with silvery locks, leaning upon his cane, with an apparently im-

passive face. Slowly and thoughtfully he paced to and fro, until the band on board struck up "Yankee Doodle," when off went his hat, and his old arm was raised in the air, and he gave three hearty cheers for the old Union. So, too, when the reconnoissance was made up the Tennessee River, into the State of Alabama, as far as Florence, everywhere, upon every side, thousands of Union men appeared upon the banks of the river, and greeted the flag with their gratulations and heart-felt rejoicings. So, too, we are told, in Richmond, even, and I believe it to be true, three thousand men are leagued together as Union men, ready, whenever the heavy hand of their tyrannous Government shall be lifted from them, to strike a blow for the cause which lifts us up, and gives us courage and hope for the future.

This is not a war against the South, nor the Southern people, nor any institution of the Southern people, or any other people. It is a war against rebellion; and I should be very sorry to believe that rebellion had become an institution of any portion of our common country. Nor is it a war against any State, because there is no State in this rebellion. States cannot rebel. The Constitution forbids it; and the Constitution, thank God, is the supreme law of the land, and will continue to be the supreme law of the land. It is a conspiracy and a rebellion of individual men, each one of them to be regarded as an individual personal traitor and rebel. The fact that he lives in one State or another, makes no difference in his guilt, changes not in the least the character of his acts, or his relations to the General Government. The Constitution, and the laws made in pursuance thereof, take effect in all the States, and upon all the individual men who live within those States; and every man who rebels against the Constitution makes himself personally a traitor, and no State has any authority whatever to shelter him from his subjection to the Constitution of the United States.

We have this great source of rejoieing, that every step of progress that our armies make in the Southern States, has revealed loyalty there—high-toned, brave, hopeful loyalty; a loyalty that will fight for the Union, and that, when it gets the power will crush those of their own neighbors who have lifted their accursed

hands against the Government of the United States. [Applause.] This war thus far, and for some time to come, has been, and must be, a war to develop the loyalty of the Southern States. That is the object of the war. People ask us what we are fighting for. To put down this or that? to maintain this or that? We are fighting to put down the rebellion, and release the loyal citizens of the South from the subjection in which they are held.

Possibly, by bare possibility, we may be mistaken in our expectations of finding so much loyalty in the South as we look forward to. If so, it will be time enough then to consider what shall be the next step taken. But now, to-day, this war is and must be carried on upon the assumption that the mass of the Southern people are loyal, and that if the Government of the United States will extend to them its protection, they will exercise the power of bringing back their localities into subjection to the Constitution of the United States. The mass of our people all through the country believe this to be the true view of the case, and therefore it is that you have seen through the North, from the beginning of the war until now, not the slightest indication of vindictiveness toward the people of the South.

The constant complaint of some portions of the people has been that we are not sufficiently enraged against the South; that we show no disposition to exterminate the Southern people. I think there is some truth in the charge. I think we have been careful not to exterminate anybody that could be kept alive with safety to the Constitution of the United States. We have conducted the war upon the assumption that the great mass of the Southern people are loyal citizens of the United States, enveloped in a network of conspiracy, which by its tyranny has deprived them of all liberty of speech or action. It is the object of the war to restore them their liberty, and to give them, as citizens of the United States, all the power which belongs to them in that capacity. And in that I believe, in my heart of hearts, the next ninety days will show that we have conducted the war upon a proper basis, in the proper spirit, and in the only true way to insure what we have aimed at-the supremacy of the Constitution all over the land that belongs to the Union.

They ask us if we expect to subjugate the South? Yes, we do. We not only expect it, but mean to do it. We expect to subjugate the rebels who are in arms by cold steel and hard blows; and we expect to subjugate the great masses of the South by showing them again the magnanimity—the blessing that comes with the flag of the Union, taking their hearts captive, and making them again the most thorough friends and supporters of the Constitution of the United States. [Applause.] We may rejoice in the prospect, therefore—and it is the only prospect in which we can have rejoicing without alloy—that when we have finished this war, and when the great work of statesmanship commences, we shall see no State erased from the list of the Union, no star blotted out from the galaxy, no State line wiped out, no reduction of any portion of our country to the condition of a subjugated province; but all standing again in the sisterhood of States, all in the hands of loyal citizens of their several States, in the hands of men who will support the Constitution of the United States, and put their brand upon any man who will not do that, as an enemy not only to the Constitution of the United States, but of the particular State in which he happens to live. That, I believe, will be the result of this great war, and when it comes—it may not be next year or the year after—it may not be, so far as all the States are concerned, for ten or twenty years—but sooner or later it will surely come—and when it does come we shall have a free Republic, having the support of every soul within its limits, animated by infinitely more fervor of love than has ever vet burned in the hearts of its people, against which all the darts of conspiracy at home, or of enmity abroad, will break, as the brittle steel breaks against the burnished shield. It is anchored deep in the affections of the people, and nothing can drag it therefrom; and through after years they will say, "Through blood and fire we anchored it there; are we again to give it up? again to fight battles against it? No; a thousand times, no!" This rebellion once put down, we shall never hear of another upon this Continent.

We have not only occasion upon this birthday of Washington to rejoice in our success over internal conspiracy and rebellion, but we shall have conquered the world of our enemies, by the ex-

hibition we shall have made to them of the power of freedom, of our executive ability and military strength. They have been saying our Government was weak. They see it to-day the strongest Government upon the face of the earth, because there is not another Government under heaven that could, by simply appealing to its people, put 600,000 men into the field, ready to war against any foe. They see a people ready to surrender everything dearest to the hearts of the people-all their rights, and all their liberties, for the moment, under the pressure of necessity, for the purpose of saving the life of the nation, that makes the enjoyment of those treasured rights possible. If these are not indications of strength, where in the history of any country will you find them? If this country to day does not present to the world the spectacle of a powerful nation, show me one upon the face of the earth that can. Every step we take now strengthens our country, makes us more powerful-will make us more united. And if statesmanship follows the army after the war is over—true statesmanship, consulting the great permanent interests of the country, and not the immediate vindictiveness of the moment—we shall find ourselves anchored so fast that we may defy the insolence and jealousies of England, and the hatred of the world in arms. We may well look forward to that day as one of unmixed rejoicing. We may even, by anticipation, rejoice in it here to-day. In everything that we see, evincing the power, bravery, courage and endurance of our soldiers, we may foresee almost with certainty the speedy end of this rebellion; and we may know for ourselves that we have the courage, the wisdom and the ability to lead this great nation forward for years to come, and to plant its flag upon the glittering heights of renown to which every nation looks forward as its hope and reward.

We have duties to perform; we have burdens still to bear. There is no mistake about the disposition of our people to do the one, or their ability and their willingness to bear the other. All we want is vigorous leadership. Now that the great task of preparation is over—the mightiest task that has devolved upon us, taken, as we were, unawares, without an army, without a treasury, without anything upon which a great nation could fall back in

the days of its emergency—now that the task of preparation is gone through with, thanks to the same great genius which presided over our arms in the outset, [applause,] the task devolved upon his successors is easy. It is honorable, it is glorious—but it is comparatively easy. If they will walk in his footsteps, they will earry this nation forward to the great goal which he saw with distinctness when the war first broke out, and to which he bent all his great energies, by way of preparation, from the very start. [Renewed applause.]

We have occasion for mourning, for sadness; for war ever brings sorrow in its train. With all the glory, pomp, and circumstance that surrounds it, although it awakens in every heart feelings of admiration for heroism, yet hundreds and thousands fall in its bloody wake, and fall to rise no more. They shall be remembered while the nation lasts, as the saviors of its life and the preservers of its Constitution.

"How sleep the brave who sink to rest, By all their country's wishes blest!"

May God bless those whom they leave behind them. May we never verify the false maxim, that Republics are ungrateful. Let them sleep peacefully, because they sleep in honor. They have gone to their rest, and their works shall follow them. We who shall enjoy the blessings which their death has conferred upon us, and our children who shall come after us, will reap a still richer harvest of those blessings-we will never forget to cherish their memories, to honor their deeds, to make their names immortal in their country's history. Let those who are yet to follow in their footsteps have our encouragement—the encouragement of the honors we pay their predecessors; and let them feel that every one of them is watched, not only with an admiring, but with a loving eye—that loving hands are stretched forth toward them, eager to aid them, to help them on, and that loving hands will still be stretched forth toward those whom they may, in the providence of God, leave behind them.

But, with all its drawbacks, this war is fraught with blessings, for which we have reason to be thankful to the Almighty Ruler of Nations, for all time to come. It will strengthen our virtues; it will purify our political atmosphere; it will lift us above the mere petty struggles for party place, and bring us into those serener heights, where Wisdom presides over the councils of the nation, and will bring us to feel as a nation henceforth, I trust, that we have duties to perform as well as privileges to enjoy. [Applause.]

Lieut. Gen. Scott here retired from the hall, and the audience arose and greeted him with repeated cheers.

The question was put upon the resolutions, and they were agreed to.

Governor Fish having retired, the Chair was taken by Judge Pierreport.

Mr. A. T. Stewart read the following letter, which was received with enthusiastic applause:—

## SECRETARY SEWARD'S LETTER.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, WASHINGTON, February 19th, 1862.

Messrs. Hamilton Fish and Simeon Draper, Chairman and Vice-Chairman of the Union Defence Committee of the Citizens of New-York:

Gentlemen,—I have had the honor to receive the note in which you have invited me to attend a mass meeting of the citizens of New-York on the 22d inst., in commemoration of the birth of Washington, and in honor of the recent brilliant successes of the Union forces in suppressing rebellion.

It would be a source of great satisfaction to me to meet the people of New-York on so interesting an occasion, but Congress has instituted similar ceremonies to be observed at this Capital, and has made my attendance upon them an official duty. I need not say that in my very heart, and mind, and soul, I approve these proposed observances. Disloyal citizens have seized upon that great anniversary to pervert it to a more complete organization of the conspiracy for the overthrow of the Union of which Washington was the founder, and for the betrayal of the people of the United States back again to the foreign yoke which the hand of Washington smote and broke. May we not hope that the mighty shade of the Father of his Country will be allowed to look down from its rest on that day devoted to his memory, and say which of the two are indeed dutiful children—those who are engaged in the destruction of that country so blessed of God above all other lands, or those who have committed themselves to its salvation.

I am, gentlemen, yours, very faithfully,

Mr. Prosper M. Wetmore read the following letter, remarking that it was from one who, whenever he speaks or writes, stirs every loyal heart—Daniel S. Dickinson. [Applause.]

## HON. DANIEL S. DICKINSON'S LETTER.

FIFTH AVENUE HOTEL, February 22d, 1862.

My Dear General,—Late last evening, on my arrival here, I was honored by your favor inviting me, in behalf of the Union Defence Committee, to speak this evening at the Union meeting. I regret to say that a previous engagement to speak in a neighboring city will prevent its acceptance. But let me embrace this occasion to congratulate the country, and especially those who characterized the conspiracy and throttled the rebellion in the outbreak, upon the exposure of the one, and the virtual overthrow of the other, and the shame and confusion of the supporters, advocates and apologists of both; and permit me, too, to add one word of warning against the danger of delusive palliatives and mistaken compromises. It is and has been a struggle between a free Government and one of the darkest conspiracies, culminating in rebellion, which ever desecrated earth. Now, let there be no unmanly or cowardly shrinking, and no terms offered or accepted, but out and out, absolute and unconditional surrender.

Sincerely, yours,

D. S. DICKINSON.

Gen. P. M. Wetmore, Secretary.

### SPEECH OF EX-GOV. WASHINGTON HUNT.

Mr. President and Fellow-Citizens,—I came here intending to bear no personal part in the proceedings of this most impressive and interesting occasion. I came to listen once more in silence, to the warning voice of the Father of his Country, and to enjoy in silence this manifestation of the joy of patriotic exultation which now animates the breasts of the whole American people who are still loyal to the Constitution and the Union. The recurrence of the birthday of Washington, is an event which ever appeals impressively to the patriotism and fidelity of the people whose liberty he contributed to secure. But in the present crisis of our country, this appeal comes with peculiar emphasis and power. The Address which has been read to-night seemed to speak trumpettongued, and to proclaim to every man throughout the extent of this land, his duty to maintain, at the sacrifice of everything dear, even of life itself, the institutions which we received at his hands, and which he and those who co-operated with him, fondly supposed they had delivered into the hands of successors who would prove themselves worthy of so inestimable an inheritance.

We have assembled this evening under auspices which are peculiarly animating and cheering to the friends of the Union and of the Constitution. If there are any who have ever doubted, there is occasion to doubt no longer, that our Union and our Constitution are safe. [Applause.] Thanks to the loyal spirit of the people, to the fidelity of our soldiers, their bravery and their courage, it is now manifest that there is no power which can prevail against the power of the Constitution; that no conspiracyno rebellion-can be maintained of sufficient strength to stand against the wrath and indignation of an aroused and intelligent people, devoted to their liberty and their rights. It is not my purpose to detain you at this advanced hour, by any extended remarks; but having been called upon, it affords me peculiar satisfaction to respond to the sentiments of patriotism and exultation which have been so eloquently expressed by the gentleman who preceded me. I believe that this unnatural struggle is coming to a close; that we have seen the darkest day, and that the bright sun of peace and Union—a friendly Union, restored fraternal, affectionate sentiments, which constitute a real bond of Unionwill again cast its benign and refreshing influences over our whole united country.

A struggle like that in which we have been engaged is peculiarly painful in many of its aspects. It arrays against each other men who cannot forget that they are brethren, that their fathers stood side by side in the vindication of American rights and in securing our independence. Nor ought we to forget that those who, in a moment of excitement, have been arrayed against us, are still to be in the whole future, I trust, when this contest is ended, once more our brethren and our fellow-citizens. [Applause.] I, therefore, concur with the last speaker, that the mass of the people in every section of the country, although they have been momentarily estranged from us, will return to their loyalty, and their hearts will be again animated by sentiments of affection and loyalty toward this Union. I trust that this will be so. Let it be proclaimed everywhere that we are fighting not to destroy, but to pre-

serve. We fight for the Constitution which was fashioned and perfected by Washington and his compatriots, and the Union which was formed by the wise and glorious men of the Revolution-We intend to preserve them for our posterity, and to lay an especial charge upon those who shall come after us, that they shall continue to defend and vindicate it against every enemy who shall assail it, either from without or within. And when this rebellion shall have been suppressed; when they shall unconditionally surrender, and lay down their arms, and return to their obedience, and once more discharge their duties as citizens of the Union, and take their place under the protecting folds of the Constitution, always excepting the head conspirators who have concocted and led on this movement—[applause]—when the leaders of the rebellion are punished or driven out, then I would hold out to all, the olive branch of peace and union, and fellowship, and revive that sentiment of fraternity which was one of the original objects and purposes of our Union to establish and foster. [Applause.]

We can make no terms with treason—no truce with rebellion. This republic is to be one and indivisible, now and forever. My faith has always been strong that it will be preserved undivided; that no star is to be stricken out; that an overruling and wise Providence never intended that we should become separate confederacies, invading each other's rights, tormenting each other by perpetual hostilities, and presenting an example which would make us the disgust of the civilized world; but that we should be forever united. It is not a war of opinion; because in this section, in all the loyal region of the States, with here and there an occasional exception, I believe there is but one sentiment—the sentiment of loyalty and devotion to the Constitution under which we live, and the determination to maintain it at every and all hazards.

We have glorious tidings from every direction, from the South and the Southwest. Our armies are victorious. But the greatest victory of all, in my estimation, is the manifestation of patriotism and loyalty by large numbers of people in that portion of the Southern States, especially in the Southwest, which has been

penetrated by our victorious army. We see there hundreds and thousands of people coming forward and hailing the old flag with irrepressible joy and delight. That this will be the sentiment of the mass of the Southern people, sooner or later, when the opportunity is afforded them, I have never permitted myself to doubt. I have believed we would yet live together as a united family of freemen, and that it would soon be unnecessary, in any State or portion of the country, to hold the people in subjection by mere force of arms. So long as it is necessary, let it be done. Let us sustain our Government in the most effectual manner. Let us give our lives if necessary—for who would value his life without liberty?—to sustain the Government, which, in its turn, protects every American in every quarter of the world.

Shall we permit other nations, friends of despotism and of old institutions, which ought, perhaps, long ago to have been effaced from the earth, to triumph in beholding us disunited, dissevered, weakened, shattered, broken into warring nations? No, gentlemen; we will maintain that unity which Washington so wisely proclaimed as the essential element in our National strength and independence. We have seen that foreign powers have some of them manifested an eagerness to foment dissensions among us. I have never doubted that in their inmost hearts they desired to see us broken up into several weak, contemptible confederacies, instead of presenting a bold, united front. The old powers of the earth would be overjoyed beyond expression, if they could see the American flag torn asunder—if they could see us following in the wake of Mexico and the South American Republics, destroying each other.

But it is unnecessary for me to dwell upon the considerations which should lead us to preserve our national integrity. Where shall we find a more sublime spectacle in history than the uprising of our people to maintain their free Government? There is no evil that does not bring with it some compensation, and the manifestations of patriotism, courage, self-sacrifice, which have arisen from this crisis, are of themselves sufficient to compensate us for all the trials we have suffered. And when the conflict shall end, we shall be a more vigorous, and a more united nation, I trust,

than ever. Can any one doubt that the nations of the earth will look upon us with more respect, with more admiration, hereafter; that they will more scrupulously regard our rights, and be more cautious in their demeanor toward us, when they see that upon the first sound of danger a million of freemen show themselves ready to stand forth at once to maintain the integrity of their Government, and that more millions are ready to follow them if necessary? I can tell you, gentlemen, that no nation upon earth overlooks or disregards manifestations like these.

I trust, however, that when these trials shall pass away, we may become a more harmonious nation than we were before. All history shows us that the exhibition of bravery and of courage, produces sentiments of high admiration and regard. When peace is once proclaimed, it becomes a real peace, founded upon sentiments of mutual respect and friendship. I trust that such will be the condition of this country when we shall emerge from the unnatural strife which is now drawing to a close. It is my firm belief, my ardent hope, that the flag of the Union may be victorious; that we may be a united country; that our banner may still go forth the emblem of liberty and strength; that our motto will ever be, "Liberty and Union, now and forever, one and inseparable." [Applause.]

The following letters were read:

#### LETTER FROM THE WAR DEPARTMENT.

War Department, Washington City, D. C., February 19th, 1862.

SIR:

I am directed by the Secretary of War to inform you that his public duties render it impracticable for him to accept the invitation of the Union Defence Committee, to be present at a mass meeting of the citizens on the 22d inst., "to commemorate the Birth of Washington, and in honor of the recent brilliant successes of the Union forces."

Very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

P. H. WATSON,

Asst. Secretary of War.

Hon. Hamilton Fish, Chairman, &c.

# HON. E. G. SPAULDING'S LETTER.

Washington, Feb. 21st, 1862.

GENT:

Your favor, inviting me to be present and address a mass meeting of the citizens of New-York, to commemorate the Birth of Washington, is received.

My duties here compel me to forego the pleasure of being present on that interesting and important occasion.

In our joy for the recent brilliant success of the National Arms, we must not forget that we are fighting for our nationality and the great fundamental principles on which our Government rests. We have been forced into this war by uncontrollable ambition and treason of the darkest dye. We must press the war with increased vigor, till the authority of the Government is obeyed in all the States. We must have no half-way business in this great struggle for our national existence.

Very truly, yours,

E. G. SPAULDING.

Hon. PROSPER M. WETMORE,

Secretary to Committee of Arrangements.

#### HON. JOHN. B. STEELE'S LETTER.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, WASHINGTON CITY, February 20th, 1862.

Prosper M. Wetmore, Esq.,

SIR: Please accept and communicate my thanks for the invitation of the Union Defence Committee, to participate with the citizens of New-York in commemorating the birth of Washington, and the recent brilliant victories of the Union forces engaged in suppressing rebellion.

Circumstances prevent my personal presence in New-York on that day. Allow me, however, to express my most hearty sympathy with the objects of the meeting.

Your obedient servant, etc..

JOHN B. STEELE.

# Mr. R. A. WITTHAUS read the following letter:

#### GOV. OLDEN'S LETTER.

STATE OF NEW-JERSEY, EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT, TRENTON, February 20th, 1862.

Prosper M. Wetmore, Esq., Secretary of Committee of Arrangements, &c.:

Sir: I have duly received your polite invitation to be present at a mass meeting of citizens, on the 22d inst., to commemorate the birth of Washington, and our national successes. My official duties will oblige me to forego the

pleasure of being present on that most interesting occasion. But permit me to express the sentiments I feel in the beautiful language of that "Greatest of good and best of great men," whose birthday you celebrate. In his message to Congress on the 14th of November, 1794, he said: "Let us unite in imploring the Supreme Ruler of nations to spread His holy protection over these United States; to turn the machination of the wicked to the confirming of our Constitutution; to enable us at all times to root out internal sedition, and put invasion to flight; to perpetuate to our country that prosperity which His goodness has already conferred, and to verify the anticipation of this Government being a safeguard to human right."

I have the honor to be, with much respect,

Your obedient servant,

CHARLES S. OLDEN.

Mr. WITTHAUS also read the following, which was received with much applause:

### HON. ALFRED ELY'S LETTER.

House of Representatives, Washington City, Feb. 21, 1862.

Hon. Messrs. Hamilton Fish, Chairman, Simeon Draper, Vice-Chairman, Wm. M. Evarts, Secretary, and Prosper M. Wetmore, Committee of Arrangements:

Gentlemen: I thank the Union Defence Committee of the Citizens of New-York, for their invitation to unite with them in commemorating the birth of Washington, and in rejoicing over the recent brilliant successes of the Union forces engaged in suppressing rebellion, and I regret that a pressure of official business, in addition to an extensive correspondence with the friends of those recently my fellow captives at Richmond, will prevent my being present. It would otherwise give me great pleasure to join in your contemplated celebration of the birthday of the Father of our Country, whose warning voice was raised against such sectional conflicts as the one now nearly ended, through the patriotic valor of our brave soldiers and sailors. Thanks to their heroism, it cannot be said that the sun of freedom, which Washington saw rise in hope, shall in our day, sink in gloom; and we see with joy and pride that they have again planted the dear Old Flag in almost every State. I will not inflict upon you, gentlemen, a recital of the ardent desires for this glorious termination of the rebellion, which cheered the dreary hours passed by those of us who were forced, through the fortunes of war, to share the privations of prison life at Richmond.

But even there we had pleasing evidence that in Old Virginia—the birth State of Washington—there are those who, in their hearts, are faithful in their allegiance to the United States.

Let us hope that before our next National holiday—the Fourth of July—they may also be delivered from the captivity of public opinion, now melting away before the bright steel of our troops, like the frost-work before the sunlight, and be able to rejoice with us at a restoration of fraternal feeling, obedience to laws, and respect for the Constitution.

I am, gentlemen, very respectfully,
Your obedient servant,
ALFRED ELY.

Mr. Wetmore read the following letters:

## GOV. MORGAN'S LETTER.

EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT, ALBANY, February 21st, 1862.

Hon. Hamilton Fish, Chairman, &c.:

Sir: Deeply impressed with the importance of the occasion to which, by your partiality, I have been invited, and freely approving the objects for which the Union Defence Committee have requested a mass meeting of the citizens, at Cooper Institute to-morrow evening, I should gladly have availed myself of your invitation, and have participated in the proposed festivities, were I not prevented by my public duties.

It is well to connect the anniversary of the birthday of Washington with the recent triumphs of the Federal forces witnessed in every encounter, and which have covered the "Old Flag" with imperishable glory.

You will not, I am sure, forget that the Ninth and Fifty-first New-York Volunteers, the only regiments from this State, in the late engagements, were foremost among the brave at Roanoke Island, and that to the Ninth, it is the second time in the history of this short war, that distinguished honors have been won, by its intrepid gallantry and valor.

New York has upwards of a half-dozen scores of regiments in the service ready for the contest, if contest it must be, that will do honor to themselves, their State and their country, whenever it is "proposed to move immediately upon your works." Many of these regiments have won laurels already, and are now impatient for another opportunity. New-York honors every portion of the grand army without regard to State lines, but her greetings are specially due to her sons, for their valor is her pride, and their heroism lives in the hearts of her grateful people.

I am, with high regard,
Your obedient servant,
E. D. MORGAN.

The letter from Governor Morgan was received with hearty cheers, as was also the following from the loyal spirited and warmhearted Chief Magistrate of Rhode Island:

#### GOV. SPRAGUE'S LETTER.

STATE OF RHODE ISLAND, EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT, PROVIDENCE, February 20th, 1862.

Hon. Hamilton Fish, and other members of the Union Defence Committee:

Gentlemen: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your invitation for the 22d inst. I should be very glad to participate in the celebration which the citizens of New-York propose on this day, but I am happy to state, in declining the invitation which you have extended, that Rhode Island unanimously celebrates the day and the occasion. The victories which have excited the country, have stirred her, and I am proud to participate with the people of this State in the rejoicing which goes forth on this day, as it is an index of the sentiments of the whole country.

I am, very respectfully,
Your obedient servant,
WM. SPRAGUE.

# HON, ELIJAH WARD'S LETTER.

House of Representatives.

Hon. Hamilton Fish, Chairman, &c.:

Gentlemen: The unavoidable pressure of my present engagements compels me unwillingly to forego the pleasure of accepting your invitation to attend a mass meeting of the citizens of New-York, to commemorate the birth of Washington and in honor of the great victories in defence of that Union to which his best and most earnest thoughts and desires were so warmly devoted.

I have the honor to be,
Your obedient servant,
ELIJAH WARD.

Letters were also announced from the following:

- 1. GOVERNOR WILLIAM A. BUCKINGHAM, of Connecticut.
- 2. Hon. Preston King, U.S. Senator.
- 3. Hon. Z. Chandler, U. S. Senator.
- 4. Hon. F. A. Conkling, M. C.
- 5. HON. EDWARD HAIGHT, M. C.
- 6. HON. ISAAC C. DELAPLAINE, M. C.
- 7. PROFESSOR LIEBER, of Columbia College.
- 8. COLONEL VINTON, U. S. Army.

# SPEECH OF JOSEPH HOXIE.

In listening to the letters which have just been read in your hearing, ladies and gentlemen, I perceive that they all tender thanks for the invitation to be here and to speak to you. Now, I confess I am unlike them all, I do not thank anybody for calling upon me to attempt to speak on this occasion. It is an old adage that "from the abundance of the heart the mouth speaketh." That adage has only age, I believe, to recommend it. At any rate, in my case, and here, it is not true. I know, if I know anything, that upon this day my heart is full; but my mouth refuses to give utterance to the feelings of my heart. I did not know that I was expected to say a word upon this occasion; and allow me to say that no man, however experienced as a public speaker, and however able, much less an individual like myself, should ever speak of WASHINGTON without the utmost preparation of heart and of mind. I know that name is familiar as household words. It has been in the mouths of children for years; and by many it is supposed to be a very easy thing for anybody to speak of WASH-INGTON, for anybody to speak upon Washington's birthday.

This reminds me of a minister who used to tell this story of one of his deacons. The deacon thought it was a very easy thing to be a minister, the easiest thing in the world; and he did not see why a man should be paid such a salary for just getting up in the pulpit once or twice a week, while the others had to labor the whole six days of the week for less than the minister got for his sermons on Sunday. The clergyman told him if he thought it was so easy, he wished he would come up into the pulpit and try his hand. He did try it, and made out just about as well as I shall make out in attempting to speak to you; and at the conclusion of his sermon, which was a very short one, he said, "I have always thought, brethren and sisters, that it was a very easy matter to preach, and now I wish if any of the rest of you are laboring under the same delusion, that you would just come up here and try it." [Laughter.] Now if anybody thinks it is an easy thing to speak of WASHINGTON, let him come up here and try it. [Renewed laughter.] We cannot compare him to any other man that ever was upon the face of the earth. The boon of Providence to this nation, and to the human race, he was a fit example for imitation in all after time. I to speak of Washington! I am not worthy to take that name upon my lips.

We have met not only to celebrate the anniversary of the birth of him who was "first in war, first in peace, first in the hearts of his countrymen," but, also, to thank God and take courage from the recent victories obtained by our army in battling for the support of the Constitution and the Union. [Applause.] Whose heart is not full? Who cannot speak upon this subject which fills the heart of every loyal man, and woman, and child in this country at this moment? It seems to me that the dumb can speak; and the language in which our friends of the West have been speaking to us lately, has been such as methinks would unstop the ears of the deaf.

Now, my friends, I frankly confess, while I am as thankful as any man can be for the result of our arms thus far, and while I have no word of complaint or of censure for any apparent delay—it is not for me to judge of that, I am not a military man nor a naval man; I know nothing of the immense preparation necessary to move half a million of men in arms, or to create a fleet, man it, and fight the battles of the country with it, as has already been done; and therefore, I am the last man to criticise the actions of those men to whom we have entrusted such vast responsibilities -but ought to be thankful for what has already been done, and hopeful for what is yet to be done—it seems to me that we are in more danger at this moment from a disgraceful compromise and a backing down, than we are from all the secessionists, and rebels, and traitors in the Union. [Loud applause.] Already we hear it said, already we read it in some of our newspapers, already it appears in the communications of some of the correspondents of our papers from Washington, that now "we must not be vindictive; these are all our brethren." Thank God, they are not my brethren. [Applause.] I own no relationship with them whatever; and if the leaders of them could be picked out, and I could be present at their entertainment, as I was at that of Gordon yesterday, I would be willing then to give up. I should like no greater enjoyment than to see

about a dozen or twenty of these fellows strung up between the heavens and the earth, [loud applause,] without, for some time at any rate, having the power to reach either. [Laughter.] Still I am a man of peace, as quiet a citizen as ever you knew in your life. I never had courage enough to fight anybody, and I do not know that I ever should. But I am for peace upon the only terms which I hope my country will ever accept, upon the terms given to General Buckner at Fort Donelson, "immediate and unconditional surrender." [Great applause.] When the rebels and traitors are ready for that, I am willing to say, "give them peace," and not until then.

It must have been a glorious sight to-night for you that had the privilege of being here earlier, to see that old veteran, General Scott, covered all over with scars received in fighting the battles of his country. [Applause.] I wish I could have seen him; but I was engaged in attending another celebration. How it must have moved his honest, patriotic heart, when the cheers went up from this place! I think we must try to induce friend Cooper to strengthen these arches a little. [Laughter.] It seems to me that they must have been raised by the cheers of the liberty-loving men and women whom I see before me. I know they touched the heart of that old veteran.

I have heard, with more pain than I can express, some anxious, restless, go-ahead fellows, but as honest and good citizens as ever were in the world, complaining of Gen. Scott's want of activity; and one of them even wrote to me a few days ago doubting his loyalty! What do you think I did with that letter? ["Burnt it."] Yes, I put it in the fire as quick as lightning, and I felt at the moment that I should like to put the writer of it in the same place. Doubt the patriotism of Gen. Scott? Doubt that you live; doubt that you have eyes, hands, or ears; but don't doubt the patriotism of Gen. Scott. That cannot be done. I only know of one thing the old General has ever done to render him amenable to the laws of the land. I believe he was upon one occasion charged with smuggling. I believe he brought into the country a certain quantity of lead without paying duties upon it, and that lead he carries in his precious body to this moment. For that I

suppose we shall forgive him; I feel very much inclined to do so myself.

Now, fellow-citizens, having appeared before you, as I always do when you call upon me, let me say that my heart is full of thankfulness to God for having given us a Washington, a Constitution, and a Union, and for having, in these latter days, given us a McClellan, a Grant, [applause,] a Fremont, [enthusiastic and prolonged applause,] and other names which are to adorn the pages of our country's history in all future time.

Mr. E. J. Brown called the attention of the meeting to the important disinterested services rendered by the Union Defence Committee, at a period when the existence of the Government was endangered. He thought that the influence exercised upon the public sentiment of the loyal States, by such an organization, comprising many of the most eminent and esteemed citizens of the commercial Metropolis, could scarcely be over-estimated. He regarded it as just and proper, that this Mass Meeting of citizens of New-York should make formal acknowledgment of the large debt of gratitude owing to that Committee, and he therefore offered for consideration, the following resolution:

Resolved, That the prompt, energetic, and efficient measures adopted by the Union Defence Committee, in co-operation with the munificent action of the City Government, at a critical juncture in the affairs of the country, call for the grateful acknowledgments of every loyal citizen of the United States, and this meeting directs its officers to make record of this resolution.

The resolution being seconded, the question was taken by Mr. Brown, and declared to be carried unanimously.

Three cheers were then given for the army and navy, three for the Union, and the meeting adjourned.















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